Spring 2017
CAS IR 584: US and Sub-Saharan Africa
Tuesdays and Thursdays: 3:30-4:45 pm

“The darkest thing about Africa has always been our ignorance of it.”
-George Kimble

Prof: Ambassador Robert Loftis            152 Bay State Road, Room 225
Pardee School of Global Studies            Tel: 617-353-9390
                                          E-mail: rgloftis@bu.edu

Office Hours
Tuesday:  1:15-3:15
Wednesday: 10:12:00
Thursday: 1:15-3:15
Other days and times by appointment

Course Outline
In August 2014, at the first U.S.-Africa Summit, President Obama laid out an ambitious agenda for the United States and Africa. Unfortunately, the landscape is littered with the ruins of such well-intentioned plans, largely abandoned after a showy initiation and marked by mutual misunderstanding. The approach that the Trump Administration will take toward Africa is as yet unknown. While initial indications suggest that Africa may not be a high priority for the new Administration, events may determine otherwise.

The aim of the course is to move beyond stereotypes and mythology to a more complete understanding of the reality and possibilities of U.S. relations with sub-Saharan Africa, including the role of governments, non-governmental institutions, the private sector and individuals. The instructor will draw on his experience as a diplomat in Africa and working African issues in Washington to add color to the lessons.

A detailed schedule is laid out below, with required readings. The course will be organized thematically: Introduction and Contemporary History; Security and Conflict; Economics, Trade and Development; and Human Rights and Democracy. Each theme will open with an examination of the current situation, followed by U.S. efforts to work with Africans, and closing with a discussion of whether U.S. efforts are efficacious. We will use Mozambique and Lesotho as case studies for working in post-conflict situations and for promoting democratic reform, respectively. The course will continue with a discussion of U.S. relations with key African countries, and close with an attempt to recommend a viable strategy for advancing U.S. interests in and relations with sub-Saharan Africa. Although the course is organized thematically, students will be challenged to identify crosscutting influences: for example, the effect of economic policies on trans-border HIV/AIDS transmission patterns.
Grades will be based on the mid-term and final exams, a short policy paper, a group strategy presentation and class participation (details below).

**Special Remarks**
As this class will be run as a seminar with an emphasis on discussion and participation, students are expected to attend and participate fully in all classes except in case of a valid excuse (i.e. personal illness). Please e-mail me in advance of any absence. Students should do the required readings before class, as they will provide the context and point of departure for the day’s discussion. Lecture notes and any presentations will be posted on Blackboard at the end of the class. Note, however, that these notes are merely guidelines for the day’s discussion and are no substitute for attendance.

Students should also peruse a quality daily such as the *New York Times* or *Washington Post*, along with a weekly such as *The Economist*. You should also peruse on-line African magazines and newspapers, such as *The Mail and Guardian* (South Africa). Students may also wish to follow well-informed bloggers such as CFR’s John Campbell, a former U.S. ambassador to Nigeria (http://www.cfr.org). Class discussion will draw on events of the day to elucidate the lessons.

BU’s African Studies Center (http://www.bu.edu/africa/) is an excellent resource.

**Academic Misconduct**
All class members are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the university. For more on the definition of plagiarism and the standards to which you will be held, see the CAS Academic Conduct Code, available at http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/.

**Students with Documented Disabilities**
If you have a disability that requires extra time for exams or any other accommodations, plus bring a note from the BU Office of Disabilities Services at least two weeks before the first exam so that I can make arrangements for reasonable accommodations.

**Texts**
We will rely extensively on the following text, available from the BU Barnes and Noble bookstore or other vendors, in new and used versions.

- Rothchild, Donald and Keller, Edmond, editors: “*Africa-U.S. Relations: Strategic Encounters*” Lynne Reinner 2006 (“Rothchild”)
**Recommended** (readings will be posted on Blackboard)


Additional readings will be posted on Blackboard and are noted in the syllabus.

**Grading Distribution**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid-Term</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Exam</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Paper</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Presentation</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Participation</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Grade Scale**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score Range</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>94-100</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-93.9</td>
<td>A-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87-89.9</td>
<td>B+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84-86.9</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-83.9</td>
<td>B-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77-79.9</td>
<td>C+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74-76.9</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-73.9</td>
<td>C-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67-69.9</td>
<td>D+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64-66.9</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please note that I do not grade on a curve.

**Mid-Term and Final Examinations**

The mid-term and final exams will consist of short answer and true/false questions (which will require an explanation of why the statement is true or false). The mid-term will cover the material from the beginning of the course to the time of the exam. The final will encompass all course material.

**Policy Paper**

Students are required to write a policy paper, which may take one of two forms. Students may write as the U.S. ambassador to an African country, proposing a course of action to the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Alternatively, students may choose to write as the ambassador of an African country to the United States, proposing a course of action to their Minister of Foreign Affairs.
The memorandum must:

a) Identify a problem to be resolved and why it is important;
b) Outline a proposed course of action, including necessary resources;
c) Discuss potential costs and trade-offs.

Choose a topic that is relatively narrow, such that you can propose concrete actions within the parameters given. This exercise puts a premium on concise writing and clear priorities.

Students are strongly encouraged to discuss this paper with me, both when they choose their topic and over the course of the semester. The papers must be 5-7 pages, exclusive of footnotes and bibliography.

Please submit the paper in Word format (Times New Roman 14 pt., 1.5 line spacing) by e-mail only to rgoftis@bu.edu by 5:00pm on Thursday, March 30. Points will be deducted if you do not follow the provided format or ignore the page limits. Late papers will receive a one half-letter grade reduction per day. Check for a return e-mail from me indicating that I have received the paper and have been able to open the document. It is your responsibility to ensure the paper has been received.

The format and further instructions on the paper will be provided on the first day of class.

**Group Presentation**

The class will be divided into groups of three to four students. You may choose one of the following topics for your presentation: U.S. policy toward a specific country (i.e. South Sudan); U.S. policy toward a specific region of Africa (i.e. The Horn of Africa); U.S. policy on a specific issue (i.e. improving health care delivery). In contrast to the policy paper, choose a broad topic so that you will have to formulate a strategy that encompasses three to four themes covered in the course: security, economics, democracy, development, etc.

The presentation should be approximately 30 minutes long, with speaking roles for each team member. Like the policy paper, the presentation should identify a problem, why it is important to the United States, the proposed strategy to deal with the problem, and potential trade-offs. The presentation will be followed by a class discussion. **PLEASE NOTE:** Your grade for this section is determined not only by your own presentation, but by active participation in the discussions that follow each of the other presentations. Missing the class or sitting passively will result in a failing grade for this portion.

The groups and order for the presentations will be determined by lottery.
Participation
Classroom discussion will be an integral part of this course. Students are expected to complete the readings before class and to contribute to the discussions. After the first two sessions, students will be assigned lessons in which they must provide two discussion questions. Details will be provided on the first day of class.

There are many ways to contribute, including asking for clarification, offering informed opinions and respectfully engaging fellow students. See especially the note above.

Class Schedule

Thursday, January 19
1. Introduction and course overview

Tuesday, January 24
U.S. Interests in Africa
- Lyman: pages 5-27 (Blackboard)

Thursday, January 26
History: The Cold War, independence movements, anti-colonialism
Tuesday, January 31

**History: The Post-Cold War and Post 9/11 Periods**

- Lawson, Leticia: *U.S. Africa Policy Since the Cold War*, Strategic Insights, Volume VI, Issue 1, January 2007 (Blackboard)
- Alden, Chris: *From Neglect to “Virtual Engagement:” The United States and its New Paradigm for Africa*

Thursday, February 2

**A New Scramble for Africa: China, the European Union, France, multinational corporations and other players**

- Lyman: pages 40-55 (Blackboard)
- Cooke: Chapter 7

Tuesday, February 7

**Other Players (continued)**


Thursday, February 9

**The importance of collective structures: African Regional and Sub-regional Organizations**

- Hellquist, Elin: *Regional Organizations and Sanctions Against Members*, KFG Working Paper 59 (June 2014) (Blackboard)
Tuesday, February 14

**Security and Conflict: Legacies of Colonialism and the Cold War; Religious Extremism and Terrorism**
- Rothchild: Chapter 3
- Cooke: Chapter 8

Thursday, February 16

**Security and Conflict: Challenges: Failed and Failing States; Dictatorships and Authoritarianism**
- Rothchild: Chapter 6

Tuesday, February 21

**NO CLASS**

Thursday, February 23

**I. Security and Conflict: Supporting African Responses to Security Threats**
- Cook: Chapter 3 (Blackboard)
- Rothchild: Chapter 2
- Adebajo, Adekeye: *UN Peacekeeping and the Quest for a Pax Africana: Current History*, Vol 113 (May 2014) (Blackboard)

**II. Security and Conflict: AFRICOM and the Militarization of U.S. Policy in Africa?**
- McFate, Sean: *U.S. Africa Command: Next Step or Next Stumble?* African Affairs 107/426 (24 December 2007) (Blackboard)
- Shaw, Ian: *Predator Empire*, University of Minnesota Press (2016), Pages 137-141 *The Dronification of Africa* (Blackboard)
okumu, wafula: “africa command: opportunity for enhanced engagement or the militarization of u.s.-africa relations?” testimony to the house committee on foreign affairs, subcommittee on africa and global health, 2007 (blackboard)

usafrcom posture statement 2015: report to the house and senate armed forces committees (blackboard)

browse www.africom.mil for a review of the command’s mission and activities

tuesday, march, february 28

security and conflict: mozambique as case study

hume, cameron: “ending mozambique’s war: the role of mediation and good offices,” chapter 1. united states institute of peace, 1994 (blackboard)

thursday, march 2

economics, trade and development: the state of africa’s economy

rothchild: chapter 9

anon: trade policies and regional integration in africa, african economic outlook, afdb, oecd, undp (2016) (blackboard)


walt, vivienne: is africa’s rise for real this time? fortune.com, accessed 12/20/2016 (blackboard)

brune, nancy: the impact of the u.s. shale boom in africa, journal of international affairs, vol 69, no 1 (fall 2015) (blackboard)

breshnahan, lauren et al: does freer trade really lead to productivity growth: evidence from africa, world development, vol 86 (2016) (blackboard)

saturday, march 4 through sunday, march 12

spring break

tuesday, march 14

economics, trade and development: the u.s. role

chutha, robert and kimenyi: “the africa growth and opportunities act: toward 2015 and beyond: a synthesis of stakeholders’ views on the future of u.s.-africa commercial relationships” brookings institute, may 2011 (blackboard)

gast, earl: statement at hearing on “economic statecraft: embracing africa’s market potential” current politics and economics of africa, vol 6, no 3 (june 2012) (blackboard)

liser, florizelle: statement at hearing on “economic statecraft: embracing africa’s market potential” current politics and economics of africa, vol 6, no 3 (june 2012) (blackboard)

obama, barack: remarks at the u.s.-africa business forum in new york city, (september 21, 2016) (blackboard)


SEC Fact Sheet on the Use of Conflict Minerals: http://www.sec.gov/News/Article/Detail/Article/1365171562058


### Thursday, March 16

**Economics, Trade and Development: Development and Humanitarian Assistance**

- Cooke: Chapter 3
- Rothchild: Chapter 7

**Development and Humanitarian Assistance: The U.S. Response**

- Lyman: pages 105-127 (Blackboard)
- Zakaradias, Nicholas et al: *U.S. Food Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa: Politics or Philanthropy?* Social Sciences Quarterly, Vol 81, No 2 (June 2000) (Blackboard)
- Cooke: Chapter 6
- Rothchild: Chapter 10
- Liu, Ailan and Tang, Bo: *U.S. and China Aid to Africa: Impact on the Donor-Recipient Trade Relations* Social Sciences Research Network (30 June 2016) (Blackboard)

### Tuesday, March 21

**Mid-Term Examination**
Thursday, March 23

**Economics, Trade and Development: the U.S. role in African environmental challenges**

- Rothchild: Chapter 8
- Vickes, Brendan: *Trade and Climate Change: Constructing a Multilateral Agenda for Africa*, Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria (2012) (Blackboard)

Tuesday, March 28

**Promoting Human Rights and Democracy: the status quo: democratic rule, corruption, status of women, religious freedom, LGBT rights**

- 2014 U.S. State Department Human Rights Report (customized to include only the executive summaries) (Blackboard)

Thursday, March 30

**Promoting Human Rights and Democracy: U.S. role**

- Cooke: Chapter 5
- Lyman: pages 89-105 (Blackboard)

Tuesday, April 4

**Case Study: Promoting Democratic Reform in the Kingdom of Lesotho**

Thursday, April 6

**Group Presentation I/Discussion**

Tuesday, April 11

**Key Bilateral Relations: South Africa and Nigeria**

- Veney: Chapter 5 (Blackboard)

Thursday, April 13

**Group Presentation II/Discussion**

Tuesday, April 18

**Key Bilateral Relations: Ethiopia, Senegal and Kenya**


**Thursday, April 20**

*Group Presentation III/Discussion*

**Tuesday, April 25**

*Group Presentation IV/Discussion*

**Thursday, April 27**

*Discussion: Creating a Coherent U.S. Strategy in Africa*

○ Rothchild: Chapter 11
○ Veney: Chapter 8 (Blackboard)

**Tuesday, May 2**

*Course Wrap Up and Review*